572 'circle of friends' is frequent and congenial whereas relationships with some kinsmen and older persons generally are characterized by a consciousness of different statuses.

572 608 Occasionally a fictive kin relationship will be established between extremely close friends. In one case two men consistently insisted they were related as grandfather and grandchild; an examination of their genealogies revealed no such blood relationship. Further questioning established that they were kaume'a. One of the men was about twenty years older than the other, but they enjoyed each other's company, worked together, and spent most of their leisure time together. Out of this relationship, which was similar to a grandfather-grandchild relationship, the two men developed the pattern of using grandparent and grandchild terminology to refer to each other.

571 The term maheni denotes a relationship in which the principals have a low level of interaction or a high level of interaction not characterized by strong friendship sentiment. So, a person may call a close 'neighbor' kaunga'api, whom he sees frequently but does not like, maheni. Maheni is also the term used for a person rarely seen and with whom the speaker is only slightly familiar. A married woman usually refers to her male friends as maheni because to call them kaume'a implies a sweetheart relationship that would be inappropriate for a married woman. Generally, the term maheni would imply a relationship with somewhat more familiarity than the term, acquaintance, implies in English usage.

transactions as initiators, negotiators, and beneficiares far more frequently than men.

Goodenough (Carroll 1970: 404-405) has suggested that in Polynesia the transfer of child custody may, in fact, be an exercise of parenthood rights beyond those of the biological parents. In Tonga grandparents and classificatory parents have some rights of jural parenthood, but primary rights are held by the biological parents. Secondary rights of parenthood are succeeded to in cases where a child is abandoned or in cases where both parents have died. In situations such as this, which are relatively rare, grandparents or classificatory parents would probably assume the responsibility of parenthood.

Tongan adoptions constitute a transfer of jural parenthood and in that sense are true adoptions. The principals in an adoption transaction are the adopter and the adoptee's biological parents, and in each case the biological parents both must agree to relinquish their rights of jural parenthood before an agreement is reached.

It is the kin relationship between adopters and biological parents that determines the nature of the adoption process, not the existence of overriding rights to jural parenthood.

Circumstances of Adoption

An adoptee in Tongan society does not break with kin ties established through his genetrix and genitor; rather, he assumes a second set of relationships. If a child is adopted by a classificatory parent there is little shift in terminology with respect to the kinsmen of that

597 adopter. However, the other adopter would not have been related prior
602 to the adoption, so all of that parent's kinsmen become kinsmen of the
608 adoptee. In effect, the number of persons related ot the adoptee is increased by about one-third, and the intensity of some prior relationships is altered-classificatory siblings become "real" siblings and classificatory parents become "real" parents.

597 Adoption could also alter the adoptee's kinship rank. For instance,
602 if a female was the youngest D of the youngest S and was adopted by her
561 F's eldest Z, her position is almost completely altered and she becomes the highest ranking person of her generation with regard to her F's Kinsmen.

597 The adoptee's relationship to his biological parents varies from
593 those cases where he rarely sees them to those cases where he is in almost daily contact with them. The biological parents may bring gifts
[574] of food and other items to their child and he may occasionally visit
[578] them for a few days; however, the more frequent and intense the contact between adoptee and biological parents, the more likely it is that friction will occur between the adopting parents and the biological parents.[2]

597 Adoptees frequently become the pele 'favorite' of their adopted parents and some Tongans think of adopted children as spoiled children. An adoptee is in a position to get special treatment from his adopted parents because he is more likely to be an only child, the only child of one sex, or the youngest or oldest child. Another possible reason for the special treatment of adoptees is that adopted parents fear the child will return to his biological parents unless they treat him kindly.